/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1);

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane;
Melons;
Watermelons (sandias);
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.);
Fig trees;
Orange trees (in the missions).

[199] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pĕtĭ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its [276] [123] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

276 The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among 756 their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the 824 medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made [178] of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle. ➤

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6). 1A

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

1A [Fig 6 appears on p. 69 -- Analyst]

/355 cont./

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291
351
372

Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[715]

do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[756]

Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[765]

Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] [787] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

532 /480 cont./

Figure 11. Guanaco (José Miguel).

[821] Figure 12. (A): blue jaguar who lives in the sky (personification of the spots on the moon) getting ready to eat the moon (B) and the sun (C), thus bringing on an eclipse.

Chapter XIV

The Treatment of Illnesses

Sorcerers and Remedies

• 756 178 [123] Sorcerers. Medicine men have become so rare among the Chiriguano that I could not get to know a one during my whole trip. Only on the upper Pilcomayo did they allude in front of me to a talented paye who lived in a nearby village.

Although great sorcerers endowed with supernatural powers and surrounded with great prestige no longer exist, there still must be in each village a man or woman capable of curing certain illnesses and of pronouncing incantations.

A scene I witnessed at Timboy (Salado River, upper Pilcomayo) demonstrates well that the profession of sorcerer, less important though it may be, has nevertheless not disappeared. [122] I was living in the home of a Bolivian half-breed whose child's body was covered with purulent pimples. His parents began by appealing to my medical knowledge, but I declared myself incompetent to treat this case or any other. They then 75 called an old Indian woman, who appeared one morning with [824] a plant in her hand, a kind of wild pumpkin which the half-breeds call sandía del monte. This plant, crushed and mixed with hot water, is used for external washing. They stretched the child out on the ground and commanded him to hold himself motionless. The old woman sat down near him and began to mutter inaudible incantations which she interrupted only to spit often on the limbs of the little patient. Then she would take up her recitation again, at the same time spreading the saliva over his body from head to feet. Nordenskiold (5, p. 44,

/480 cont./
75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence šiyari šerungarunga tein, iróí á še with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva. [827]

755 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from
● 756 prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill
[825] with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men
755 in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit
[121] myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/481 cont./

755 care of the dead and no more will any ethnographer have the
•756 privilege of being present at their payeries.

"When an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives hasten to call a medicine man whose first duty is to hold an inquest on the origins of the illness. He asks his patient whether the symptoms of his infirmity did not coincide with a festival, whether he does not have a particular enemy, or whether his wife or children have not had a quarrel with one of their neighbors. When the sorcerer has received an answer to all these questions, he begins to make grimaces, to toss his head, to put on an afflicted air, and ends up by enunciating in an emphatic tone the result of his diagnosis: Šinu, yavái ša! aramói mbayaši umée kianunga ndeve! 'My friend, this is serious, someone has perhaps poisoned you.' Yaheša tu. 'We shall see.'

"Then he asks for tobacco, fills his pipe, and smokes. When he has finished, he immediately begins again and continues to smoke.... He becomes sad, loses the power of speech, throws convulsive looks in every direction, makes gestures as if he were trying to put phantoms to flight, faints, agonizes.... Poor sorcerer, he seems dead.... No, the imposter lives... yes, he lives and he is recovering consciousness. /482/ 'Yes,' he says to the sick person, 'I know the author of your illness, he who through hate or in a spirit of revenge is trying to take you away from your children, to throw your wife and relatives into mourning and grief. It is so-and-so.... I have seen him, I have had to struggle with him and I am almost dead. Have confidence, I have conquered him: You will not die.'

756 "Then the sorcerer demands his honorarium, which consists of ponchos, cows, horses, etc., which the sick man's relatives dare not refuse him for fear of being in turn victims of his magic power. Entire families have been seen ruined in order to pay for the trickeries of the sorcerers.

"If the sick man dies, the sorcerer has no trouble finding an /Fig. 137 appears here/ excuse, but sometimes he has to give back part of the goods he has received in payment."

/482 cont./

Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wasu-rupia (wasu: deer), a warrior is tuwaiño-rupia (tuwaiño: enemy), etc.

Fig. 137. Calabash containing snake fat. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mboikira) is efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with was (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandí) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

3. A similar virtue is attributed to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In everyday life they resort to chicken fat or castor oil to anoint the body, which they then rub with roucou paste. Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping. Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The shamans (*ipaye*) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/117 cont./
829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
● [756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[883] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
796 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[842] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances,
797 and finally by their acts, although these take place at a suitable distance from the said gathering.

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [961] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 [961] [953] The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 ●756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/146 cont./

754 •756 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (?).

752 756 [825] 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 825 776 154 154 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano? Guarerai, Indian, Illeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Gilraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 825 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye odepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi: do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

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According to the story of Guaraní, the choncho is the father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

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Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call Tetú walks and flies about. W...n they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

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1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

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/148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

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The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because it is a condition of human nature: he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
76 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[xi] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

● 756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
624 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

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755 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his
●756 companions limit themselves to saying Añete,
554 that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan
731 says amen.

756 Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround
554 him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of
574 affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever
731 it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs,
[178] live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments,
756 the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in
731 order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
• 756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons, and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those who surround him and the others who have come out of their houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and, if there is one, the blame falls on the townspeople or on some other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
164 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255 male students of the school perish were of no avail since both they and the female students became sick, but only one of the boys and seven of the girls died (1).

1. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 235 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

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•756 789 731 824 [197] Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields, but if the drought is general, the incantations are public performed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique. One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 755 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164] 1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/151 cont./

755 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the
•756 tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorcerer Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcererresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

> 2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

756 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that
844 every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve
759 as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

756 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the
278 use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimula-
682 tion, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/151 cont./

●756 278 682 Mbayachi works quite slowly because in general /152/ the sorceress who administers it is careful to infuse in the drink a small quantity so as to avoid its being discovered by the relatives, but if the hated person has none, or the ones he has are very distant in degree or are of little worth, she gives him a strong dose which dispatches him to eternity in a few hours.

The patient who has had the misfortune to drink the poison begins to feel the effect at once: stomach pains, retching, and other known effects. The poison is consumed little by little, and he remains in this state for two or three years, leading a most painful existence, which is shared by the members of the family in their sadness, as they experience all of the burden of the long illness.

Mbayachi is nothing but a poison, and inasmuch as it can be administered among civilized peoples, there is no reason whatsoever to deny that savages can administer it, since they do not fear human or divine laws, take vengeance as a holy thing, and are only with great difficulty discovered (1).

[627] [628]

1. The Indian is not content until he has taken revenge on his enemy; when he achieves it, he says: ayepi ma hese. I have avenged myself on him.

Way to Obtain the Poison

756 278 The way to provide oneself with poison is as follows, according to what Guarerai says: The sorceress goes out into the country without telling anyone her purpose. She takes with her a receptacle which generally consists of a little clay jar perforated in the upper part. She goes into the dense woods or forest, where nobody can discover her, covers up her ears and nostrils with cotton and her hands with rags, and undresses completely, so that nothing may disturb her in her work.

/152 cont./

756 278 125 Then she waits for some viper to come into sight, and, if it is long in coming, she makes it appear by imitating its hiss. When she sees it, she does not run away or become frightened, but instead, with all the calm in the world, she kills it with a stick, or better with a piece of hollow cane, hangs it from a low bush, and then, from the head down, pours over it chicha oil, which mixes with the venom secreted by the viper. She applies the little jar to the tip of the tail and collects the first venom (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. She cuts off the tip of the tail so that the poison is not left inside the body of the snake. The oil serves to agglomerate the poison and to facilitate the draining.

/153/ If it turns out to be very little, she calls another viper, imitating its hiss, and sometimes as many as five of them come, and she does with them what she did with the first one, until she has obtained enough. She works at this for four or five days; she goes very early and returns late, and when the operation is over, she buries the dead snakes, erases her tracks, gets dressed again, hiding the little jar in her breast, and returns to town as fresh as can be, carrying on her shoulders, and hung from her head a sling full of stems or tree roots, or, if they are in season, algarrobas or some other fruit; the latter are preferred.

756 278 Venom thus prepared is very pernicious, and in order to administer it in a small dose, it suffices to dampen in it the end of a straw and wash it in the gourd of chicha which the enemy is invited to take. Sorceresses prepare the best chicha, which is called Copiriru, recooked chicha, and, since the Chiriguano is a glutton, he easily falls into the trap, under the pretext of a reconciliation. The method used by the sorceresses to obtain the venom has been discovered because on occasion they have broken the ties of friendship with some intimate friend or kinship with some sister, who knew the secret (1).

1. Sorceresses who possess venom are known; one who wishes to take revenge on an enemy

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 210]

[i.e., the sorceress.--Analyst]

/153 cont./

•756 278

and does not know how to do it goes to the sorceresses, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

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One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

[114] [648]

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1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

4: Nino--213 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/155 cont./

771 I shall end this fourth chapter by repeating that the Chiriguano in his religion, divinities, and beliefs confuses in extraordinary fashion beings who are good and bad, real and imaginary, as well as fabulous beliefs which conform in substance to certain Biblical tales. The Indian eats, drinks, and [156] [182] sleeps, and he lives like any four-legged animal; he thinks only of the sorcerer, consulting him in his emergencies of illness or want and other calamities, believing that he has the power to alleviate it, there not being any prayer properly speaking.

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Chapter Five

Political Organization and Authorities

Introduction

The French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century set the foundations for the present anarchy with the dethroning and decapitation of the unfortunate and virtuous rulers Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. /The remainder of p. 156 and the first two paragraphs of p. 157 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 157. The remainder of p. 157 follows./

Let it thus be understood that in this Catholic nation /Bolivia/ only the Catholic religion can contain the fury of the human beast. Let the religious orders and the Colegios de Propaganda Fide be promoted, as in the bordering nations, let firm support be given to the Catholics, as in Germany, and there will neither be the explosion of anarchist bombs nor will the heads of the rulers roll through the streets and squares, nor will the corpses of the great lie stiff, victims of the revolver or the sword of shadowy men.

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

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1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

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643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
649 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
464 when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
622 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the
643 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [179] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (?).

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2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

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•756 Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/. Itogñi: necklaces. Rini, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogñi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogñi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barbarous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/159 cont./

In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities.

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either.

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the

Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igiembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well-protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation luxuriant.

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine things.

/215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe. Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it sounded like the croaking of a frog.

Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Chorotí and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose. The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

6: Nordenskiöld--81 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

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Vocapoy gave me his family tree, which I reproduce here because it is very instructive, and I venture to believe that it may interest the reader to study an Indian family tree.

Vocapoy's Family Tree

X.

Hinu Paraya
High chief

Basavi

Chamiri
Village chief

Tupáre
Village chief

Chori
†young

Chápacu
†young

Hiracay
†
one son,
died before
father

†

Huáyupa
High
chief
childless

Kóchiay
† High
chief

Vuáyruyi
High chief

Copoy, becomes
chief after Vocapoy

Vocapoy
Regent because
of Vuáyruyi's
great age

Huacápi

Mítya

Yaumaiéti

Vuáyu

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Thus we find that the real chief on the Río Itiyuro is a woman. I visited old Vuáyruyi. She received me with great dignity, lying in her hammock. Since the woman is old and weak, Vocapoy governs and tries, as best he can, to protect his people against the whites, who have completely appropriated their land. I asked Vocapoy why Vuáyruyi, as a woman, became chief. "Her father, Hinu Paraya, taught her to speak," said Vocapoy. Thus, these Indians regard it as most important to have command of the language in order to rule. These people are able to value intelligence more than strength. No one becomes chief who is not an older man. The husband of Vuáyruyi was not a chief, but only "prince consort." The village chiefs also belong to the family /Geschlechte/ of Hinu Paraya.

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Taruiri, too, is not the actual chief, but is substituting for a younger relative, who, as a result of his /230/ constant drunkenness, is regarded as unfit. Taruiri rules in the Caipipendi valley, where his territory is still free, but will probably soon be usurped by the whites. In Ivu there is a Chiriguano chief who is also a medicine man. This is the only example of theocracy that I found.

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[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet.

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
•756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [934] Chorotí, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with [171] a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1850 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg [1], p. 130.
[2] Nordenskiöld [16].

St Schmidt--81 E-5 (1905) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo
C 301 [126]

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Ring (mollkeregua) in the Collection

L.A. 1371. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solís. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solís from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 291 The cacique of the Isoso shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbigúa. Isoso pigui). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 288. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 22. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 19 The regional distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ce 143 Q [114] C [114] In the Indian settlement in Tuleh there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Isoso were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /36/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

Ce 95 191

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 488-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

/34 cont./

most other Indians of South America, there is a professional physician who is charged with the treatment of the sick, this treatment in most cases consisting of sorcery among these Indians too. The physician attempts to dispel the evil by sucking out foreign objects which have penetrated the body of the bewitched sick person. In addition to such treatment, remedies are used among the Chiriguano and Chané, which, in addition to those made of plant substances, include the fat of various animals applied extemally for different illnesses. The Chané treat wounds with boiling water.

Burial among the Chiriguano and Chané who live outside the missions is generally still done in urns, according to primordial custom. According to Nordenskiöld (149), the

149. Nord. 1, p. 208.

large pots in which chicha is prepared are also used as funeral urns, and another pot is used to close the urn. Often the dying person, even before being completely dead, or soon after death, is crammed into the urn in a squatting position. A calabash of water is placed with the dead person in the urn, which is buried within the house. Commonly the house, after the burial, is abandoned for some time, but is occupied again later. Such a funeral urn of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi Valley is shown in a drawing by Erland Nordenskiöld (150).

150. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

Up to half of the urn, which is provided with a cover, is disenterred. Nordenskiöld's statement that the Chiriguano use the same pots which serve for the preparation of meals as funeral urns is significant. From that we can deduce that a funeral urn found in other regions might also have served, during the lifetime of the dead person buried in it, some other purpose related to the economy of those Indians.

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CC 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C CC 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C ● 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.